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595 never contract a secondary marriage. (Polygyny is also practised among members of the Katab Group.)

582 (*b*) *Prohibition of Secondary Marriage Within the Local Group:* The local group (hamlet or village), whether or not its males form a single clearly defined kin-group (clan, sub-clan, or lineage), is invariably a group within which secondary marriage cannot be sought. Similarly, lineage and sub-clan always constitute such groups. In some cases, when the large-scale kin-group, the exogamous unit ("clan"), is large and comprises a large number of local groups (and lineages), secondary marriage within the exogamous unit may be enjoined, i.e., a man is encouraged by public opinion to take as secondary wife only the wife of a fellow clansman, the member of a different lineage and village, and of a different sub-clan. If the clan is very small, however, the whole clan may be designated the "wife-stealing" unit.

587 (*c*) *Inheritance of Grandfather's Wives:* As Meek remarks, such is "necessarily of rare occurrence," but appears to be permitted among all tribes of the Group. All save Ikulu recognize also inheritance of father's widows, and it may be that both junior and senior levirate are almost universal.

(v) *Religious Practices: Head-Hunting*

794 Connected apparently to some extent with secondary marriage is the "dodo" cult known among Katab proper, Kachichere, Kagoma, Kagoro, Kaje, and perhaps others of the Group as *obwai* (*abwai*). It appears to differ little in those communities for which descriptions of it are available; in many of its details, too, it seems to be virtually identical with the *dodo* cult of the Kadara of Kufana, Kajuru District, described by Smith, which may be related to the tradition of Kajuru-Kadara domination of part or all of the Katab area at some period in pre-Fulani times.

721 Head-hunting was widely practised among the Katab peoples, as among many of their neighbours, Aten, Irigwe, Chawai, and others. The taking of a head [554] apparently gave a man the status of elder and was always the occasion of ritual: captured skulls were preserved. It seems that wars were not infrequent between and among members of the Group, but within the Group each member apparently respected the dead of certain other members (the Kagoro, for example, took Ataka and Kaje heads, but never Moroa or Katab proper), and there is every indication that the favoured game of all members was Fulani and Hausa.

ECONOMY[a,1]

Occupations: Division of Labour

433 Katab are primarily farmers; the bulk of the farm work appears to be done by males,[b] though women, who may help with the planting and harvest, carrying the crops from the farm to the compound, maintain their own small garden plots at the back of their huts. Livestock (see below) is largely the property of women and is tended by children. Men keep bees(in hives in tall trees in the bush) and export, through the medium of Hausa traders, quantities of desiccated honey (resembling coke cinders) as far afield as Kano and Yerwa (Maiduguri). According to all observers, there are few crafts; women weave coarse wickerwork baskets and also the *oyam*, technically an article of considerable refinement; men produce checked or twilled palm-fibre rain-capes and basket-covers, and in recent years appear to have adopted the characteristically Ikulu mat industry (see below). The chief item of wood carving is the woman's head-board (it is not clear whether the *obwai* wears a mask of wood). A variety of musical instruments are produced, but there is

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[a,1] This section refers particularly to Katab of Zangon Katab District.

[b] Wielding the heavy spurred hoe, the effect of which in operation reminds one somehow of both the spade and the simple plough; see plate 5, p. 45 of *Tribal Studies*, II.

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38

nowhere any suggestion of specialization, each man generally making his own, with the possible exception of drums, which are often produced by men regarded more as ritual specialists than as craftsmen in wood. One of the chief occupations of women (apart from household duties) is petty trade, which, according to Meek, is carried on by the women on their own or their husbands' behalf. It takes the form of "the sale of excess supplies of millet and other crops, of firewood, and of beans. . ." For their weapons and tools and cloth, Katab appear to be largely, if not entirely, dependent on Hausa craftsmen in the area, for their pottery on their Ataka neighbours in Moroa Independent District. Hunting—in the absence of any considerable quantity of large game—is carried on rather as recreation (ritualized) than as an economic activity. Sylvan products in general—excepting palm-fibre and (if so classed) honey—are not exploited commercially to any extent, though both locust-bean and shea-nut trees are found in some quantity in the Katab tribal area.

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Land Tenure: Crops

According to Cole, the Katab have little, if any, spare land. "All land in their area is claimed by some individual or family as his or their farm or fallow." Land hunger has apparently not yet set in; land can still be obtained freely on loan if one's inherited lands are insufficient. To secure a loan, a man brews and offers a special pot of beer to a landowner with fields (or fallow) to spare, who will normally accept the "gift" and grant the loan. Cole notes that "whereas in the past loans would never be for a specific duration, nowadays a loan is made for a specific period either for one, two or three years, after which the borrower would be offered another field, if this were available. . ." Sale, pledging, leasing or renting, on the other hand, are unknown. The complete right of the user and the passing on of his right are acknowledged, but no transaction which would deprive relatives and inheritors of this right is recognized. Examination of all available evidence fails to reveal any basic qualitative difference between what is termed "family," and what is termed "individual" tenure.

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The extent of the average amount of land under cultivation appears to have remained more or less constant, at least since the Brice-Smith reassessment of 1922. He reported five acres as the average cultivated by the adult male: Meek reported the average acreage as "ranging from four to six"; Barnicott (1933) "the comparatively large area of eight acres" per family; Elliot (1943) "roughly an acre per adult male" in the "home farm" adjacent to the compound, "then, anything up to four miles away in the open country around the village," fields of undisclosed extent. Unfortunately, no figure for fallow per adult male is available.

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The figure of *c.* 4 acres per adult male appears to be low,[10] but, as already indicated, it is not to be regarded as evidence of over-population; it does tend, however, to corroborate all reports that the soil of the area is extremely fertile. In the "household garden," according to Elliot, the following crops may be grown; beans,[11] *gwara*, sweet potatoes, cassava, maize, okra, *gauta* tomatoes, tobacco, *rama*

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[10] In the Birom Tribal Area of Plateau, where the soil is poor, Davies has estimated that three acres per adult factor (male or female, presumably) is minimal for subsistence. (Among the Birom, however, pressure on the land is, in some areas, extreme: at least two Birom Village-areas, and probably others, have in fact less than the minimum.) It may be noted that Brice-Smith reported the average acreage worked by the Hausa farmer in Zangon Katab District as four acres, that is, 20% smaller than the Katab average in 1922. This difference was attributed not to superior farming methods (especially since "those who can afford it hire pagan labour to till their plots") but to the fact that the Hausa domiciled in the District were primarily traders and craftsmen.

[11] Beans are, apparently, of some special significance. Early investigators declared them to be a staple crop, and the chief article of diet. It is the "home farm" or "household garden," apparently, which Meek designates "the women's bean gardens": "Every Katab woman has a farm of broad beans at the back of her hut grown on trellis-work. . . . Every married woman grows [beans] on her own account. With the proceeds of the sale of her beans a Katab woman usually adds to the number of her goats."

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38
Kaje
Jaba

Jaba country is an extension of the Kachichere Plateau of Zangon Katab, Kagoro, Moroa and Jema'a Districts, described by Temple as undulating, becoming rugged to the south with thick belts of kurmi in the north. It is watered on the north by the headwaters of the Gurara River, and there are innumerable streams throughout the district which become considerable torrents in the wet season. The soil on the lower level is a rich loam and marshy. 133

The fragmentary traditions ascribed to Jaba suggest an origin in the north, and the gist of Lungu tradition, collected by Hyne (1916) and summarized by Mathews, seems to be that at the time of Moslem expansion in this area (*c.* 1840) eastern Kachia District was the main centre of Jaba settlement, the implication being that the region now designated Jaba Independent (Kwoi) District was occupied only thereafter, under Moslem pressure, by Jaba resisting the Moslem advance (see also below). 173

Economy

Jaba are outstanding as growers of ginger which seems to have been grown in the area at the time of the first reported contact with Europeans, early in this century. Normally their crop—which is of a species not widely valued and not cured in a manner generally acceptable to world-market consumers—is disposed of locally to Hausa and Kanuri traders, who retail it chiefly at the great Kano and Yerwa (Maiduguri) markets. Administration has attempted to " improve " the local product with an eye to the European market, and to introduce the crop among the neighbouring tribes (Kadara, Kaje, Ikulu and others), while at the same time improving market facilities. It is probably too early to estimate the value of these efforts, however. 249

Otherwise, available details suggest that the economy of Jaba does not differ markedly from that of, say, Katab proper, though Jaba of Kachia are in some respects more conservative. The Jaba of Kwoi are more progressive than the Kagoro, although less favourably situated, particularly as regards rail and motor road. Differences of population density (cf. 19 in Kachia with 79 in Jaba Independent District) and in the political situation are at once symptomatic and the cause of the difference in attitudes. 433

As already noted, Jaba of Kwoi were committed to resistance against the Fulani Emirs, while Jaba of Kachia value peace more highly, and the *status quo* which, at peace, they were paradoxically able to preserve under Moslem rule. Endemic warfare, as Cole points out, must have led to the prudent scattering of family holdings in land (cf. Kagoro), in Jaba Independent District, which did not happen in Kachia. The result has been that, as Cole says, the Jaba Kwoi are " a poverty stricken people " compared with Kachia, " who can run to only one wife apiece as a normal rule whereas they [the Kachia Jaba] can run to four or five—even ten on occasions."[124] The Jaba Kwoi youths are " an irresponsible lot " in the eyes of Kachia Jaba, " who go running off to the mines to make money and do not look after their lands properly," while their own youths stay at home and become good farmers on the family land. 648 511

Dress

In dress women generally conform to Katab norms, but Meek indicates that in Kwoi Town women had taken to wearing cloth garments. Tremearne states that Jaba males commonly wore loincloths, rather than skins (cf. Kagoro), even at the outset of contact, though there is an indication that skin was worn on ritual occasions. In facial markings, as in housing, Jaba follow Katab patterns. 291

[124] Whether the exaggeration is Cole's or Jaba informants' is not clear; the only available clearly relevant figures (Barnicot, 1933) show 114 adult males, 123 adult females at Kwaturu in Kachia.